

## Message Text

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ACTION AF-08

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-01

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FM AMEMBASSY LUSAKA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 4989

INFO AMCONSUL CAPETOWN

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AMEMBASSY GABORONE

AMEMBASSY KINSHASA

AMEMBASSY LAGOS

AMEMBASSY LILONGWE

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY MAPUTO

AMEMBASSY PRETORIA

USUN NEW YORK 1181

USIA WASHDC

C O N F I D E N T I A L LUSAKA 0399

CAPETOWN FOR EMBASSY

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, PINT, RH US UK SF ZA

SUBJ: ZAMBIAN VIEW OF THE IMPASSE IN RHODESIA -- SMITH MUST GO

BEGIN UNCLASSIFIED:

SUMMARY: ARTICLE IN GOVERNMENT-OWNED DAILY MAIL FEBRUARY 10 "WHY SMITH MUST GO" POSITS THAT ALL INTERESTED PARTIES EXCEPT SMITH DESIRE A RESUMPTION OF THE GENEVA TALKS AND A PEACEFUL SOLUTION IN RHODESIA. FOLLOWING JUSTIFICATION OF THIS ASSUMPTION, THE ARTICLE CONSIDERS THE INTERESTS AND LIMITATIONS OF THE PLAYERS AND COMES OUT WITH THE FINAL CONCLUSION THAT IT IS UP TO EITHER THE PATRIOTIC FRONT (PF) OR THE U.S. TO REMOVE SMITH AND CLEAR  
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THE WAY FOR A PEACEFUL SOLUTION IN RHODESIA. END SUMMARY

1. A FEBRUARY 10 EDITORIAL PAGE FEATURE ARTICLE, ATTRIBUTED TO THE MAIL'S SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT, OPENS BY NOTING THAT THE BRITISH WANT PEACE IN RHODESIA BECAUSE THEY DON'T WANT TO BE INVOLVED IN A RACIAL WAR. THE U.S. WANTS PEACE TO AVOID CONFRONTATION WITH THE RUSSIANS. MUZOREWA AND HIS UANC ALSO WANT A PEACEFUL

SOLUTION BECAUSE IT IS THE ONLY WAY HE CAN BE ASSURED OF A PLACE IN INDEPENDENT ZIMBABWE. THE PF WANTS TO AVOID THE SACRIFICE OF THE FLOWER OF ITS YOUTH AND THE FRONTLINE WANTS A PEACEFUL SOLUTION IN ORDER TO GET ON WITH ACCELERATED DEVELOPMENT. SMITH, ON THE OTHER HAND, DOES NOT WANT PEACE BECAUSE IT IS SYNONOMOUS WITH BLACK RULE.

2. WHILE BRITAIN HAS A MORAL AND CONSTITUTIONAL OBLIGATION TO PURSUE THE TALKS, IT CANNOT BRING SUFFICIENT PRESSURE TO BEAR ON SOUTH AFRICA TO BRING SMITH AROUND. AT THE SAME TIME, BRITAIN BECAUSE OF COMMERCIAL INTERESTS CANNOT FORCE A SOUTH AFRICAN OIL EMBARGO OF RHODESIA. THE U.S. IS OBLIGATED TO ITS ELECTORATE TO SEE MAJORITY RULE IN RHODESIA, BUT THE U.S. ELECTORATE IS NOT READY TO RESORT TO THE EXTREME MEASURES, I.E.HAN OIL EMBARGO, TO MAKE VORSTER PRESSURE SMITH. ALSO, THE U.S. HAS NOT YET MADE UP ITS MIND AS TO THE STRATEGIC IMPORTANCE OF SOUTH AFRICA TO ITSELF AND THE WEST.

3. CURRENTLY SOUTHERN AFRICA IS OF INTEREST TO THE U.S. BECAUSE OF SOVIET UNION INVOLVEMENT IN THAT AREA. HENCE, EVERY BLUNDER BY THE WEST ON RHODESIA IS A VICTORY FOR RUSSIA. IF THESE WESTERN BLUNDERS CONTINUE, BECAUSE THE WEST IS UNABLE TO ENCOURAGE SOUTH AFRICA'S CORRECT READING OF THE SITUATION, SOUTH AFRICA'S CONTINUED SUPPORT OF SMITH WILL INCREASE SOVIET INFLUENCE BECAUSE THE NATIONALIST WILL HAVE TO TURN TO THE RUSSIANS FOR MILITARY EQUIPMENT DENIED THEM BY THE WEST. THE AMERICANS AND SOUTH AFRICANS KNOW THAT IF SOUTH AFRICA BECOMES ENGAGED ON THE SIDE OF SMITH IN THE FIGHTING, THIS WILL BRING IN THE CUBANS AND RUSSIANS. SOUTH AFRICA HAS NO INTENTION OF ABANDONING SMITH  
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SO LONG AS THERE IS NO INTERNATIONAL AGREEMENT INVOLVING THE AMERICANS AND COVERING RHODESIA. AMERICAN INVOLVEMENT IN SOUTHERN AFRICA SERVES TO KEEP THE SUPERPOWER RIVALRY IN CHECK, MBUT IT IS DIFFICULT TO TELL IF THIS IS GOOD OR BAD FOR AFRICA. SOUTH AFRICA, LIKE RHODESIA, WILL USE THE SPECTRE OF MARXISM TO KEEP DOWN THE BLACK MASSES. THE U.S. CAN DO LITTLE ABOUT THIS OTHER THAN PERHAPS TO INFLUENCE THE SOVIET UNION ONE WAY OR ANOTHER TO GET SOUTH AFRICA TO LOOK AT THE PROBLEM IN A BALANCED MANNER.

4. THE FRONTLINE COUNTRIES ARE LITTLE MORE THAN ALLIES TO THE PF ACTING AS PUBLIC RELATIONS FIGURES ON THE INTERNATIONAL LEVEL. THEIR CAPACITY TO HELP DEPENDS ON THE CAPACITY OF THE PF TO WAGE WAR.

5. ARTICLE SEES FOUR WAYS OF REMOVING SMITH: TWO IMPROBABLE -- THE RHODESIAN ELECTORATE REJECTS HIM; HE IS OUSTED BY A MILITARY COUP -- AND TWO POSSIBLE HE IS PHYSICALLY REMOVED, WHICH WHILE CRUDE IS DESIRABLE; OR HIS ARMY IS ANNIHILATED WHICH IS LIKELY,

BUT WILL TAKE A LONG TIME.

6. SMITH MUST GO AND IT IS ONLY THE AMERICANS AND THE PF WHO HAVE THE MEANS. THE PF MILITARY CAN MAKE CONDITIONS VERY DIFFICULT FOR SMITH AND HE WILL BE FORCED OUT. THE AMERICANS USING ALL THEIR RESOURCES, "INCLUDING THEIR AGENTS NOW OPERATING IN RHODESIA", MAY RID SOUTHERN AFRICA OF THE IMPEDIMENT TO PEACE - SMITH. IF THERE IS TO BE A BREAK-THROUGH, SOMEONE WILL HAVE TO PLUCK UP COURAGE AND DO IT SOON BECAUSE "THERE IS NOT MUCH TIME LEFT BETWEEN THE HELL NOW GOING ON IN RHODESIA AND THE DESTRUCTION THAT LIES AHEAD".  
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COMMENT: THE EMBASSY BELIEVES THAT THIS IS AN AUTHORITATIVE EXPOSITION OF THE CURRENT VIEWS OF THE ZAMBIAN GOVERNMENT AS TO WHAT MUST BE DONE TO ACHIEVE A PEACEFUL SOLUTION IN RHODESIA.  
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THE ANALYSIS HAS ITS CONTRADICTIONS, BUT IS ALSO QUITE FRANK ABOUT THE INTERESTS AND LIMITATIONS OF THE VARIOUS PLAYERS, INCLUDING THE FRONTLINE.  
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LOW

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## Message Attributes

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